



# Polarization Measurement through Ordered Latent Class Analysis

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# Why polarization?

- Polarization refers to level of diversity in society on some specific dimension.
- Polarization also reflects a conflict potential caused by diversity.
- Attitudinal polarization is an evidence of cultural cleavage (e.g. so called 'modernization' cleavage assumed by 'losers of modernization' thesis)
- Attitudinal polarization may be used as a second-level predictor for analyses of many social processes, especially related to politics and ethnic relations.
- Polarization (and related cleavages) may be interesting to model as well.

# Measurement of Polarization

## Previous developments

- Variance (or Standard Deviation)
- Kurtosis
- Foster-Wolfson Index
- Duclos-Esteban-Ray family of indices
- Ethno-Linguistic Fractionalization Index
- Reynal-Querol Index of polarization
- Various measures of ordinal variation
- Visual distribution comparisons
- *Ad hoc* methods (like Mouw and Sobel 2001)

# Polarization in Survey Data

- The main objects of interest are latent constructs (measured through multiple manifest variables).
- Information about distributional parameters of latent variables provided by relevant statistical software is limited.
- Measuring polarization for aggregated factor scores seems to be an inaccurate approach due to possible non-normality, multidimensionality, and measurement non-equivalence of latent scale.

# Why (Ordinal) Latent Classes?

- LCA may easily **handle non-normality** of latent variable
- LCA **allows for multidimensionality**: when the latent categorical variable is nominal rather than ordinal, it is impossible to order all individuals on all items in the same direction.
- LCA allows for testing **measurement Invariance**
- LCA **provides unique observed indicator for latent variable** by classifying respondents according to their value patterns. Several existing ordinal measures of polarization are easily applicable to the resulting classification

# Latent Class Model

- $X_1, X_2, X_3,$  and  $X_4$  are observed variables
- $Y$  a latent categorical variable which accounts for the relationships among these four observed variables
- $\pi_{ijklt}^{X_1 X_2 X_3 X_4 Y} = \pi_t^Y \pi_{it}^{X_1|Y} \pi_{jt}^{X_2|Y} \pi_{kt}^{X_3|Y} \pi_{lt}^{X_4|Y}$
- $\pi_t^Y$  is a probability that a randomly selected individual will be in latent class  $t$  of latent variable  $Y$
- $\pi_{it}^{X_1|Y}$  is a probability that a member of latent class  $t$  will choose a response category  $i$  for observed item  $X_1$
- $\pi_{jt}^{X_2|Y}$  is a probability that a member of latent class  $t$  will choose a response category  $j$  for observed item  $X_2$
- $\pi_{kt}^{X_3|Y}$  is a probability that a member of latent class  $t$  will choose a response category  $k$  for observed item  $X_3$
- $\pi_{lt}^{X_4|Y}$  is a probability that a member of latent class  $t$  will choose a response category  $l$  for observed item  $X_4$

# Ordinal Latent Classes

- Ordering of the categories of the latent variable is provided by imposing inequality constraints on model parameters: means for continuous manifest variables and thresholds for binary and ordinal manifest variables.
- In MPLUS, thresholds  $\tau_{it}$  are used instead probabilities  $\pi_{it}^{Xn|Y}$  (logistic parameterization of LCA model)
- Large positive thresholds indicate that (cumulative) probability of a specific response value is relatively low, whereas large negative values suggest that the probability of the response is relatively high.
- Inequality constraint  $\tau_{i1} < \tau_{i2} < \tau_{i3} < \tau_{i4}$  assumes the following ordering of classes for threshold  $\tau$  for variable  $i$  : Class 1 > Class 2 > Class 3 > Class 4

# Approach to the Measurement of Polarization

**Step 1.** Selecting a model with an optimal number of latent classes. Best model must satisfy three following requirements

- 1) be parsimonious: model with K classes should not include classes which are subgroups of classes identified in a model with K - 1 latent categories.
- 2) be almost ordinal: include very few parameters violating class-ordering
- 3) show the best fit (aBIC and BLRT) comparing to all other models which satisfy 1) and 2)

**Step 2.** Testing for ordinality (*unidimensionality, or strict monotonicity*) of latent trait: comparing unconstrained and strictly ordered models. Order-constrained hypothesis is tested directly by using Bayes factor approach

**Step 3.** Applying relevant index of nominal or ordinal polarization (depending on the results from the Step 2) to class proportions for each country obtained at the first stage.

**Bonus.** Exploring measurement invariance and cross-country differences in class proportions



# Polarization Indices

- Reynal-Querol Index (nominal)
- Standardized Van der Eijk's Agreement A measure
- Berry/Mielke Index of Ordinal Variation
- Leik's Ordinal Variation Index
- L-Squared

# Data

- Survival/Self-Expression Values. WVS, Fifth Wave
- Manifest variables 1: Happiness, Tolerance for Homosexuality, Trust, Four-Item Postmaterialism Index (as a single variable), Signing Petition
- Manifest variables 2: Tolerance for Homosexuality. Four-Item Postmaterialism, Signing Petition
- 29 European Countries: 27 EU members, Norway, and Switzerland
- 42817 respondents
- Data were not weighted
- Data were not imputed

# Fit Statistics for Competing Models

	aBIC	LMR Test p-value	BLRT p-value	Free Parameters	Violations of Ordering
Three Classes	471413.682	0.000	0.000	30	0
Four Classes	463097.672	0.000	0.000	40	1
Five Classes	448977.323	0.000	0.000	50	1
Five Classes_Ord	448977.441	***	***	50	0
Six Classes	446572.609	0.000	0.000	60	3
Six Classes_Ord	469077.511	***	***	55	0
Seven Classes	444052.829	0.000	0.000	70	6
Seven_Classes_Ord	***	***	***	64	0

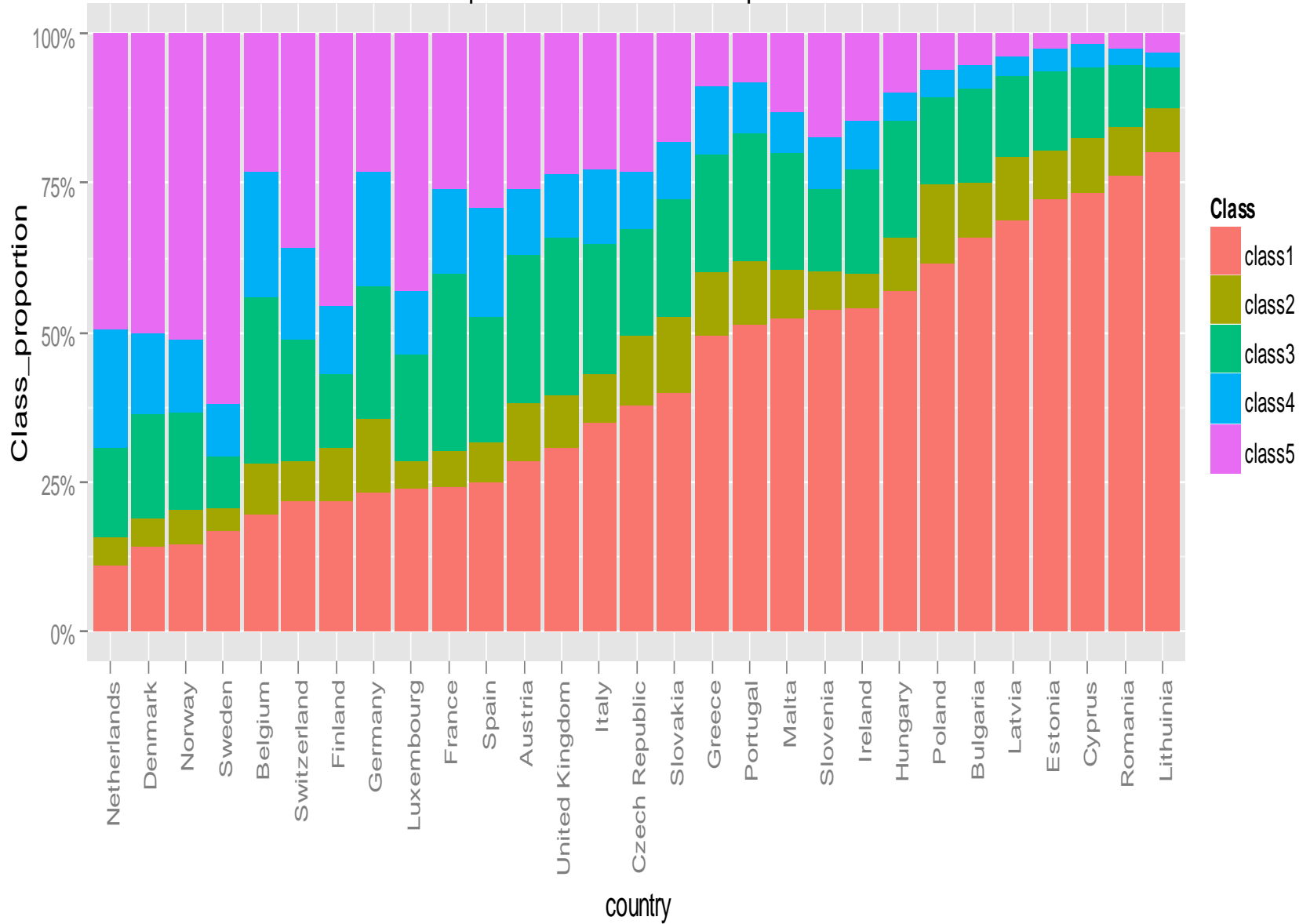
# Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Five-Class Unconstrained Model

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	Pmat1	Pmat2	Trust	Petition 1	Petition 2	Homose x	Order
Class1	-3.84	-1.692	1.348	-0.836	2.365	0.859	-0.798	0.735	3.452	2
Class2	-3.495	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.231	1.068	1.118	1
Class3	<b><u>-4.492</u></b>	-2.433	0.604	-1.706	1.291	-0.208	-2.322	-0.723	9.819	5
Class4	-4.3	-1.931	0.998	-1.038	1.991	0.69	-1.189	0.263	5.256	3
Class5	<b><u>-4.555</u></b>	-2.084	0.865	-1.294	1.661	0.394	-1.637	-0.134	7.557	4

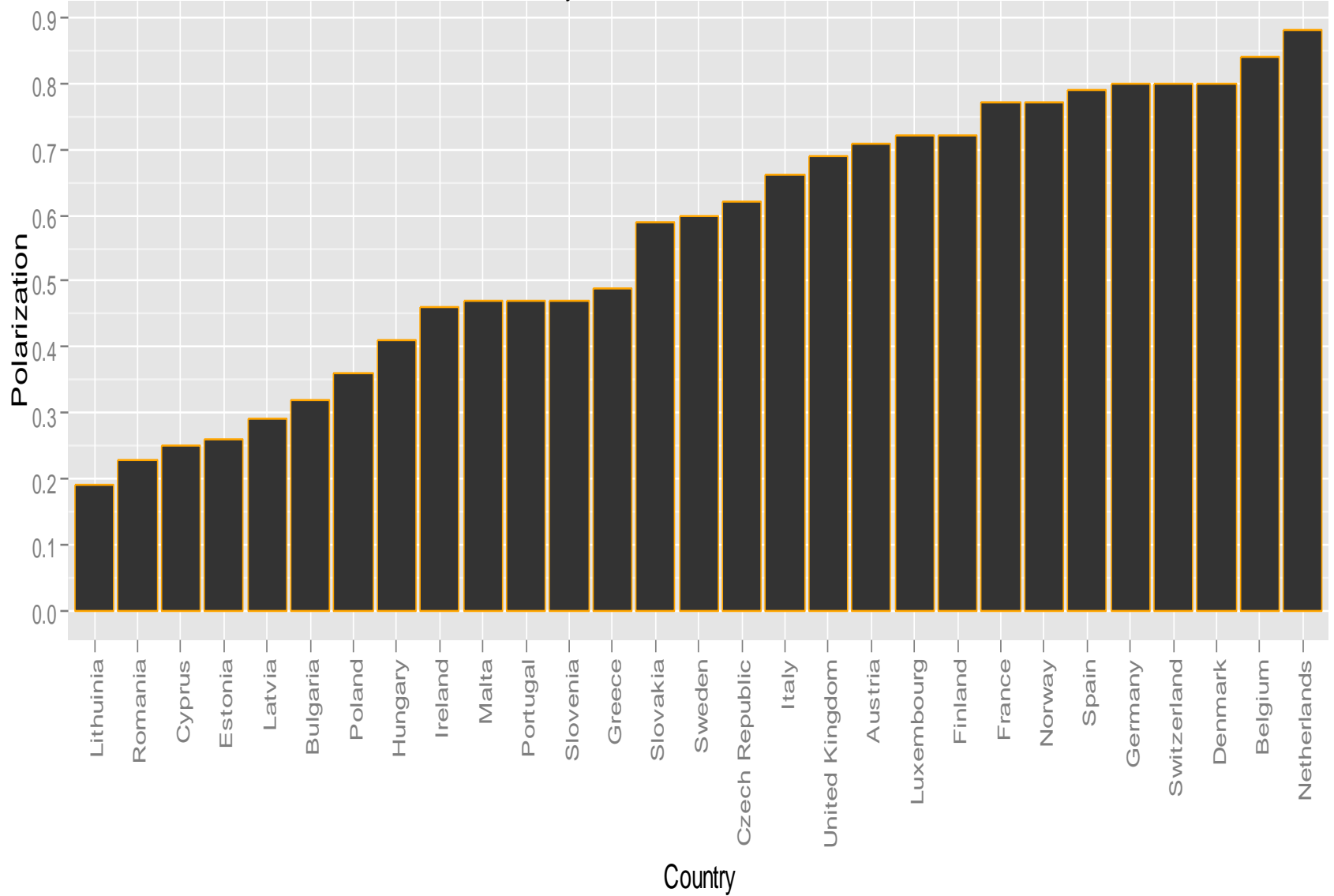
# Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Five-Class Model with Inequality Constraints

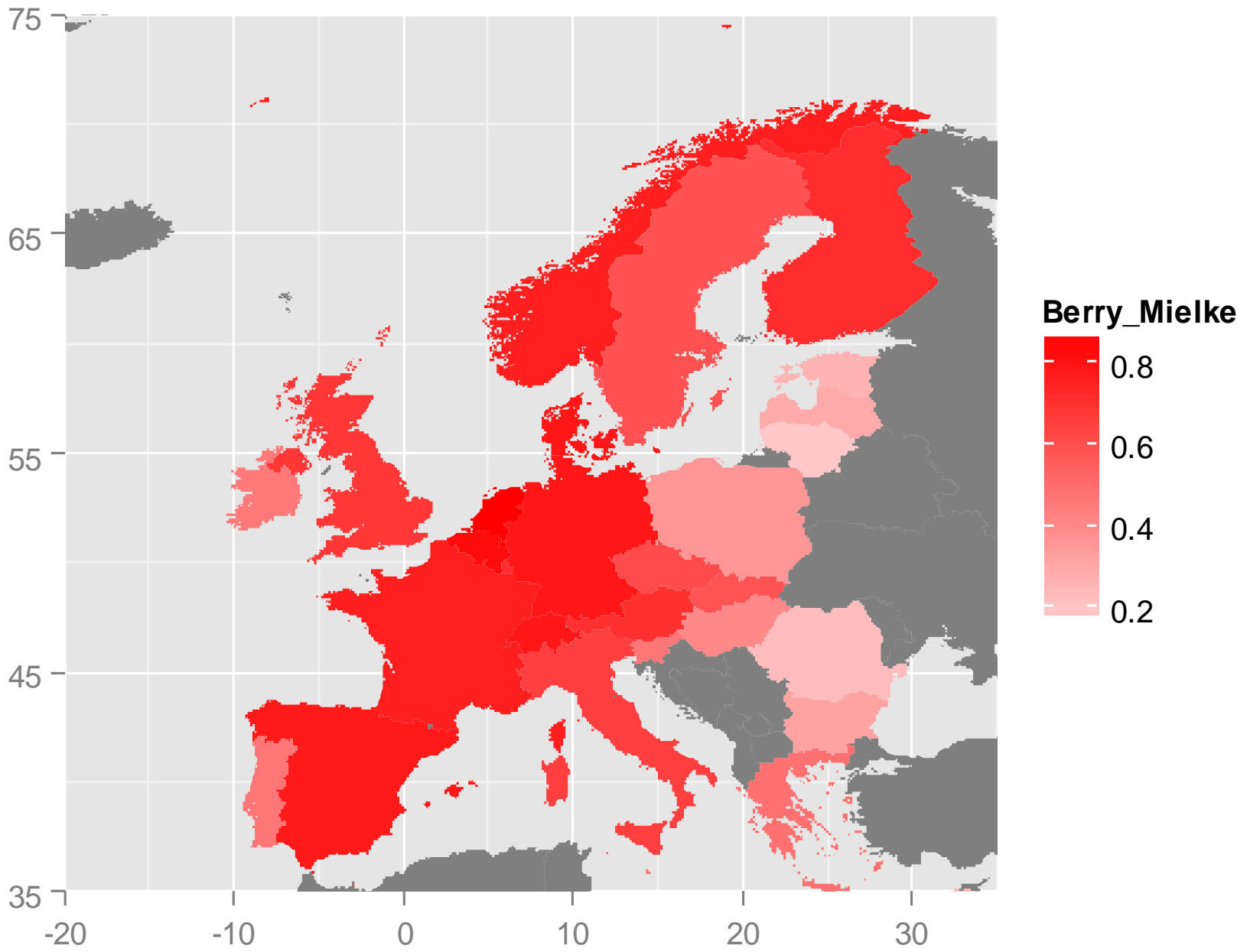
	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	Pmat1	Pmat2	Trust	Petition 1	Petition 2	Homose x	Order
Class1	-3.84	-1.692	1.348	-0.836	2.365	0.859	-0.798	0.735	3.452	2
Class2	-3.495	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.231	1.068	1.118	1
Class3	<b><u>-4.513</u></b>	-2.433	0.604	-1.706	1.291	-0.208	-2.322	-0.723	9.819	5
Class4	-4.3	-1.931	0.998	-1.038	1.991	0.69	-1.189	0.263	5.256	3
Class5	<b><u>-4.512</u></b>	-2.084	0.865	-1.294	1.661	0.394	-1.637	-0.134	7.557	4

# Class Proportions in Different European Countries



Berry/Mielke's Polarization Index







# Polarization Patterns for Five-Class Five-Item Model

- Class proportions vary in a large amount between countries
- There is a clear pattern: Eastern European countries shows larger proportions of survival classes (that is, less “modernized” classes)
- The less polarized countries are at the same time the less modernized while many developed countries are highly polarized
- Modernization and spread of self-expression values lead to the growth of value polarization?

# Investigating the latent trait underlying the survival/self-expression values

- For five-item models, strict unidimensionality (class ordering) holds only for models with no more than five classes. For three-item models even nine-class solution is plausible.
- When the number of classes is relatively large (to approximate continuous distribution), the distribution of latent trait is trimodal, which indicates non-normality of the self-expression index.
- Country-by-country analysis shows that the class ordering identified in five-class five-item solution is not robust across countries. Therefore, it is likely that configural measurement invariance does not hold for categorical representation of self-expression values index.
- Surprisingly, class ordering is more frequently violated in Western European countries, rather than in less developed post-communist or southern European societies.

# Shortcomings and limitations

- Trade-off between efficiency and computational time might lead to biased parameter estimates
- Measurement invariance was not tested in a formal way
- LCA model selection may seem quite arbitrary

# Further development

- Bayesian LCA
- Testing for local homogeneity in IRT framework instead of LCA measurement invariance
- Adding covariates
- Any advice is highly welcomed!!

Thank you very much  
for your attention!

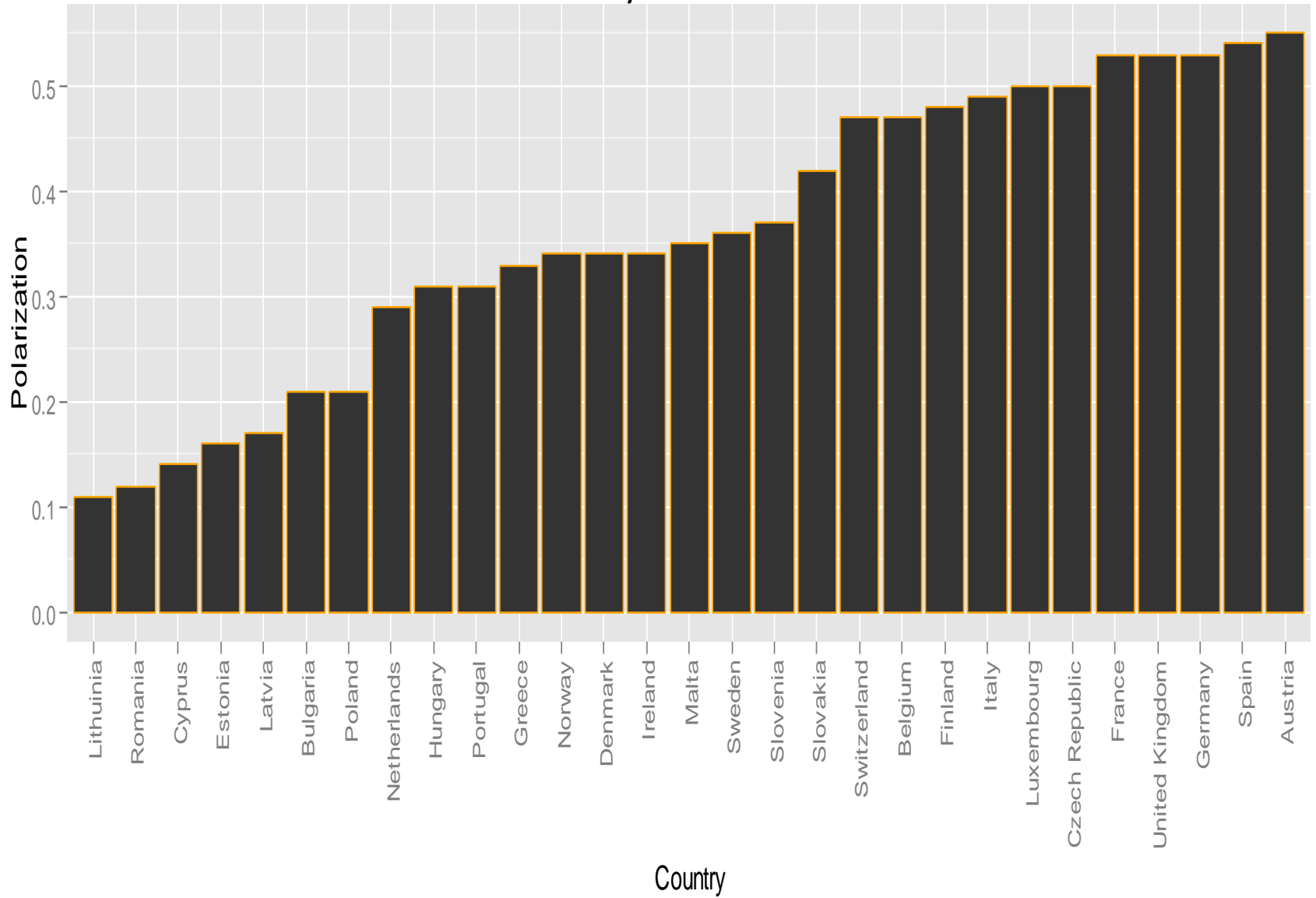
# Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Six-Class Unconstrained Model

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	pmat1	pmat2	trust	petition 1	petition 2	homosex	Order
Class1	-3.83	-1.682	1.375	-0.825	2.393	0.865	-0.778	0.763	3.426	2
Class2	<b><u>-4.492</u></b>	-2.43	0.605	-1.705	1.292	-0.207	-2.321	-0.722	9.819	6
Class3	-4.57	-1.969	<b><u>1.038</u></b>	-1.082	1.847	0.519	-1.216	0.228	6.023	4
Class4	<b><u>-3.495</u></b>	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.232	1.067	1.118	1
Class5	<b><u>-4.556</u></b>	-2.092	0.86	-1.303	1.652	0.387	-1.655	-0.147	7.567	5
Class6	-4.215	-1.915	<b><u>0.982</u></b>	-1.022	2.044	0.754	-1.178	0.277	4.978	3

# Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Seven-Class Unconstrained Model

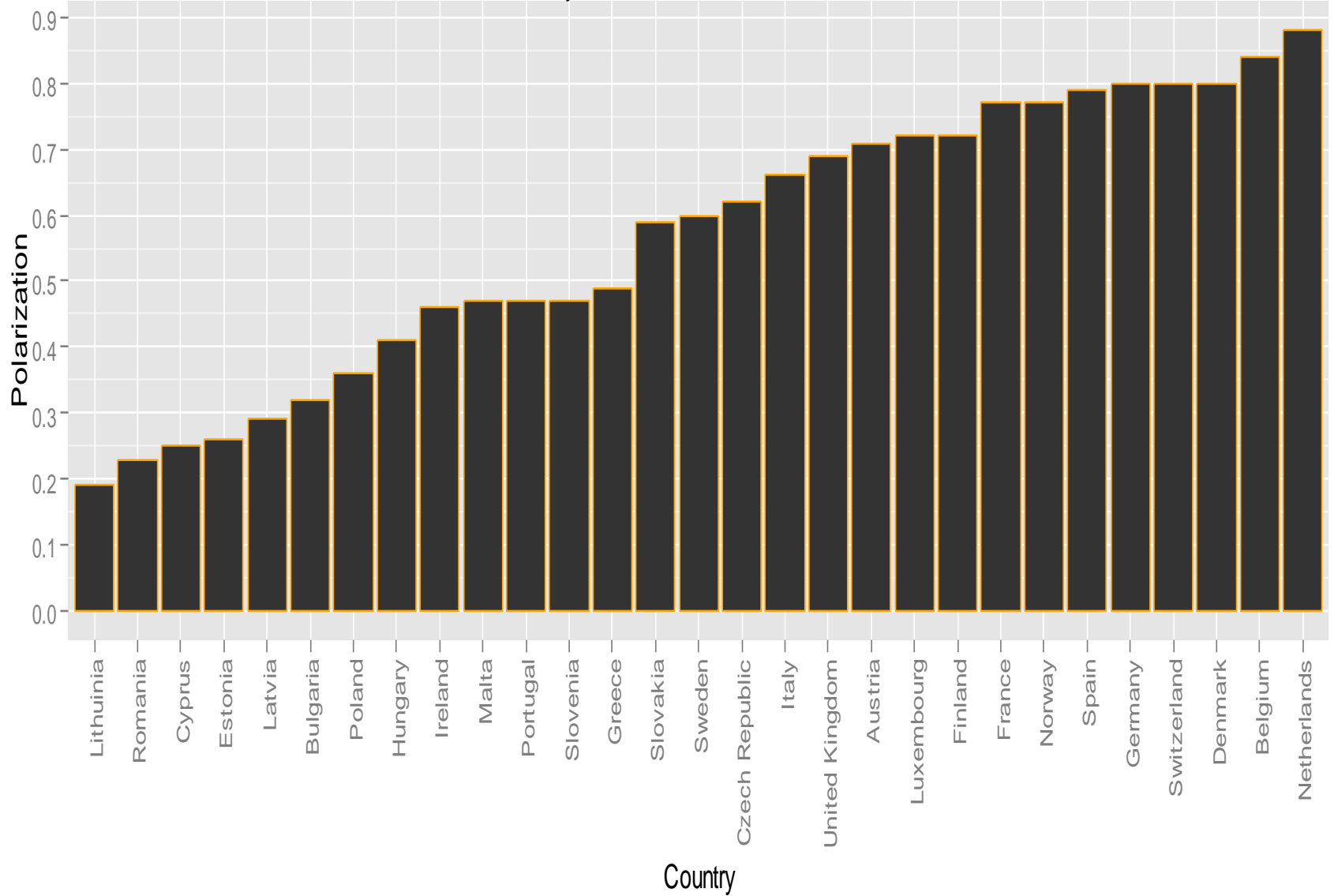
	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	pmat1	pmat2	Trust	petition1	petition2	Homosex	Order
Class1	<u><b>-4.164</b></u>	-1.46	<u><b>1.490</b></u>	-0.711	<u><b>2.696</b></u>	1.028	-0.53	0.803	2.003	2
Class2	<u><b>-3.844</b></u>	-2.698	1.335	-0.841	2.349	0.854	-0.808	0.722	3.466	3
Class3	<u><b>-4.555</b></u>	-2.083	0.865	-1.294	1.661	0.394	-1.637	-0.133	7.553	5
Class4	<u><b>4.476</b></u>	<u><b>-2.424</b></u>	0.573	-1.759	1.249	-0.26	-2.401	-0.789	9.996	7
Class5	<u><b>-4.566</b></u>	<u><b>-2.454</b></u>	0.752	-1.482	1.501	0.044	-2.003	-0.428	8.997	6
Class6	-3.433	-1.256	<u><b>1.341</b></u>	-0.583	<u><b>2.623</b></u>	1.193	-0.194	1.104	1.004	1
Class7	-4.301	-1.931	1	-1.038	1.993	0.69	-1.188	0.265	5.267	4

# Van der Eijk's Polarization Index

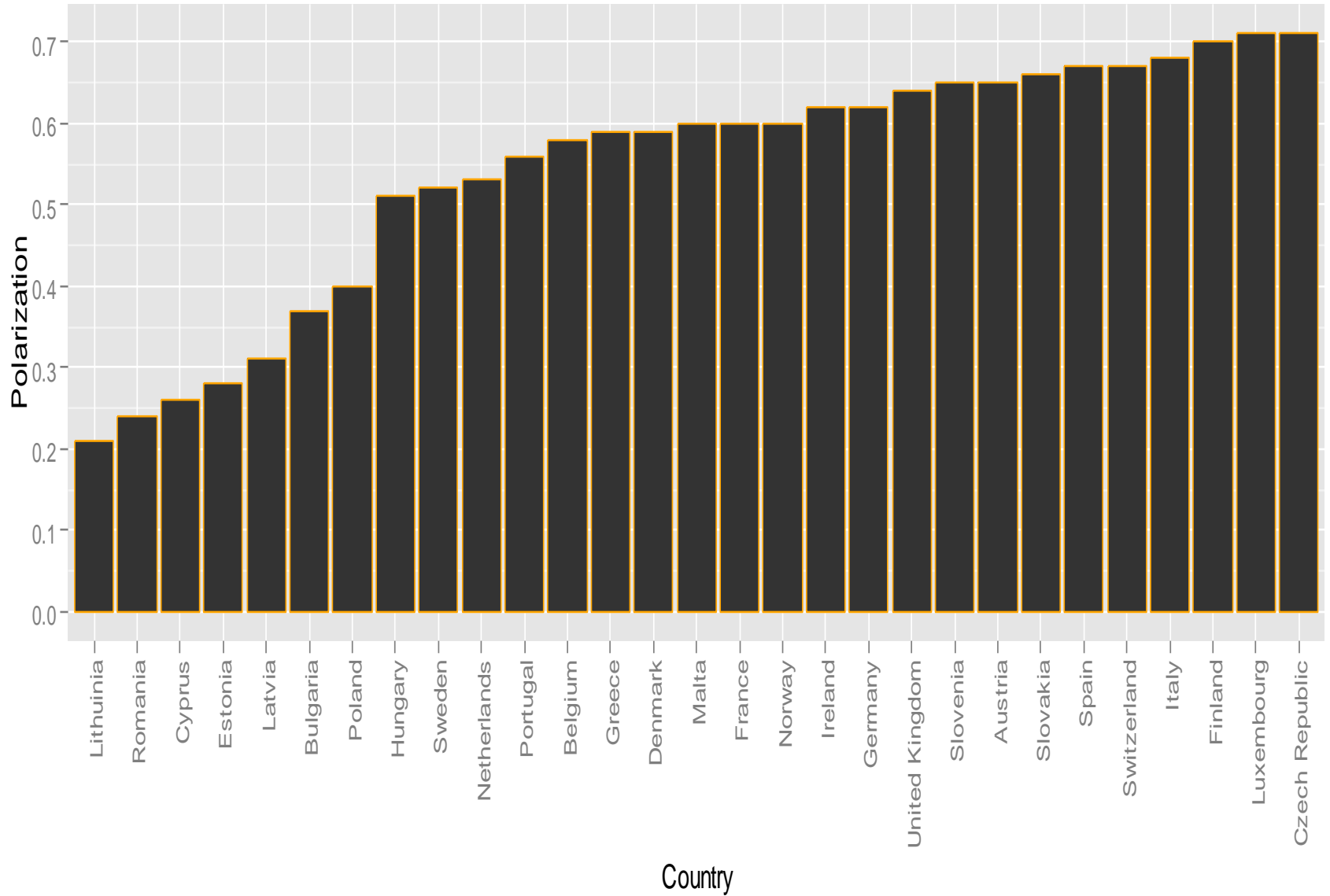




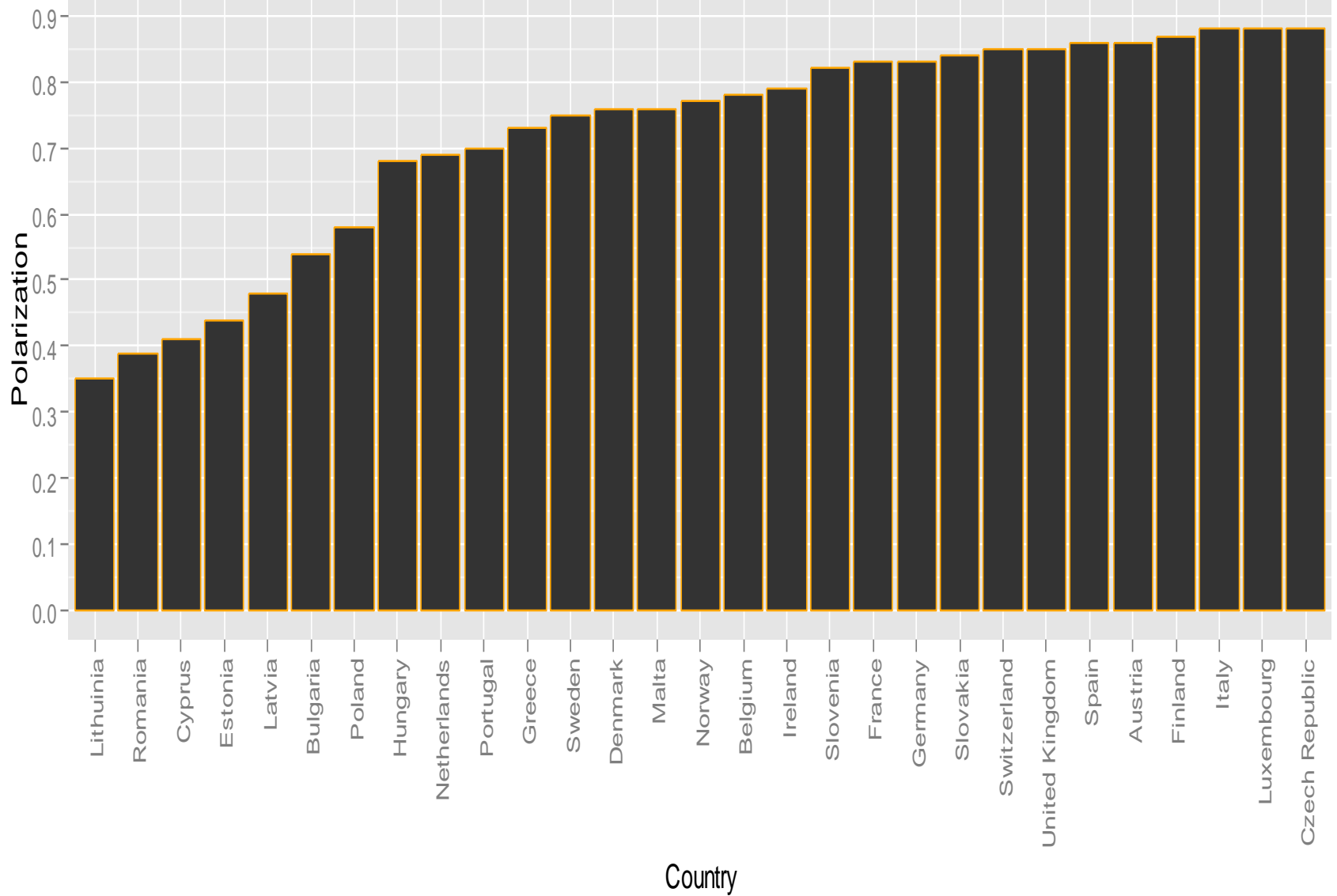
Berry/Mielke's Polarization Index



# Leik's Polarization Index



# L-Squared Polarization Index



# Pairwise Correlations between Polarization Measures

	RQ Index	Berry-Mielke	Lsquared	Polarization	Leik
RQ Index	1	0.35	0.52	0.28	0.55
Berry_Mielke	0.35	1	0.82	0.83	0.79
Lsquared	0.52	0.82	1	0.94	0.99
Polarization	0.28	0.83	0.94	1	0.91
Leik	0.55	0.79	0.99	0.91	1

# Further development

- Bayesian LCA
- Testing for local homogeneity in IRT frameworks instead of LCA measurement invariance
- Adding covariates
- Any good advice is highly welcomed!!